While Siaton was an independent parish, including Dauin, the priest still lived in Dauin due to the danger of Moro raids in Siaton. 175*

The first tributes were collected in 1817 from the people of Mangudkod. Individuals over eighteen years had to pay twenty centavos (ten cents) to the government. The tribute (or tributo) was established during Legaspi's day and was a kind of head tax paid to Spain. The tribute was payable in money or kind to the encomenderos.[40] 175* 651

In 1817 or 1818 an earthquake occurred in southern Negros "which lasted for nearly three months", i.e., the after-shocks. 175* 731 252

> The earth was always moving, so the people had difficulties in cooking their food. They had to build a big fire and hang their pots over it. Or they cut one bamboo node, put rice inside, added water, and corked the end. They threw this node into the fire and when the bamboo was charred, the rice was cooked.

This was one of the many earthquakes which shook this region; some caused serious destruction.

During the office of Capitan Etib (1817-1818) the group decided to send a small colony from Mangudkod to begin a settlement which is today Barrio Bonbonon. Bonbonon is situated near the bluff of the southern 175* 166

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[40] The payment made in Siaton, according to Cadiane, was not that common in the Philippines. At first the tributo was eight reales (about fifteen centavos), raised to ten in 1602 and twelve reales in 1851. Zaide, The Philippine Since Pre-Spanish Times, p. 171.

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held and Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed Escongyawa ("Escong the Devil") was elected capitan. Francisco's last name, Sugboanon, means he was a Cebuano, which is the first indication in Gadiane's history of emigrants from Cebu in Siaton. About four hundred people are said to have moved from Mangudkod to Kalumpang. However, not all of the settlers left Mangudkod.[48]

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When the people settled at Kalumpang the office of cabeza de barangay was installed for the first time and the tribute was increased to seventy centavos (thirty-five cents) according to the Gadiane manuscript. A road was built from Kalumpang to the beach to replace the old footpath that followed the Canaway River bank. The present site of Siaton poblacion was then "covered with trees, tall grass, and swamps. Wild pigs, carabaos, and deer lived there."

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The fear of Moro raids continued among the people. A stone watch tower (called Bantayan or Balcarte) was built at the beach near the Canaway River mouth. The men from Kalumpang took turns watching for Moros from this tower. How disturbing a force the Moros must have been on the daily life of the people in this area is illustrated by the following paragraph from the Gadiane manuscript.

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[48] After Capitan Pinando came Intoy (1803-04); Monty (1805-06); Alfonso (1807-08); Senforoso (1809-10); Cruz (1811-12); Jantoy (1813-14); Abang (1815-16); Etib (1817-18); Francisco Sugboanon, nicknamed "Escongyawa" (1819-1820).

In 1884 the tribute system, the original financial mainstay of the revenue of the Philippines, was repealed.[80] In its place was substituted the cédula personal, ostensibly a fee for a certificate of identification, but virtually a graduated poll tax. The cédulas, unlike the tributes, had to be purchased by every resident of the islands over eighteen years of age--Spaniards, foreigners, and Filipinos, regardless of sex. As there were sixteen different classes of cédulas, the one which most Filipinos had to purchase cost two pesos (one dollar).[81]

This tax was collected by the cabezas on the basis of a list of taxable individuals, called padron de tasas, in his settlement, the cabecería. To cover the cost of collection, the cabeza was given 3 per cent of what he collected while the capitan received 1 per cent. As under the former tribute system, Spanish authorities never inquired very closely how much more the cabeza might collect for himself as long as he paid the required taxes.[82]

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[80] In 1894-1895 the estimated Philippine revenue was $13,579,000 of which $4,586,000 came from cédulas with an additional $482,800 from the special head tax on the Chinese. Le Roy, op. cit., I, pp. 53-4.

[81] Carl C. Plehn, "Taxation in the Philippines: I," Political Science Quarterly, XVI, No. 4 (December, 1901), pp. 691-5. This article and its sequel (Political Science Quarterly, XVII, No. 2, March, 1902, pp. 125-48) give a scholarly survey of the Spaniards' methods of taxation from Legaspi to Dewey.

[82] Ibid., p. 681. Santiago Tayko stated that the cabezas in Siaton retained 3 per cent of all the taxes they collected.

175* 622 651

The Siaton cabezas often had trouble collecting their taxes; some people would flee to the hills when they came to collect. The cabeza had to find them or pay their taxes from his own pocket. Zaide writes:

> If the collection fell short of the amount due to the government owing to the inability of some barrio-folk to pay, or because of their death, he had to reimburse the shortage out of his own pocket. Evidently, he paid a high price for the honor of being a cabeza de barangay. Notwithstanding the financial sacrifice many Filipinos aspired to the office of cabezaship because a cabeza enjoyed a high political and social position in the pueblos, next only to the gobernadorcillo.[83]

In Siaton, however, there were individuals who did not wish to be a cabeza. Such uncooperative persons were whipped or jailed by the Spaniards. While the promise of a higher social position, a certain financial reward, and perhaps later a capitanship were important reasons why many desired to be a cabeza, coercion or actual force often made some men accept the office. It was from barrio-folk who fled to the hills to avoid paying taxes and from discontented cabezas that a considerable number of the followers of the outlaw bands in southern Negros were recruited.

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In 1872 Father Cabriada returned to Siaton as its parish priest and three or four years later (1875-1876) another typhoon swept over southern Negros, causing

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[83] Zaide, The Philippines Since the British Invasion, p. 162; Le Roy, The Americans in the Philippines, I, pp. 42-3.

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widespread damage and destroying the poblacion stone church. In 1877 Lucas Ege was re-elected capitan.[84] It is obvious that the Eges were a prominent family in the poblacion. Lucas or Francisco Ege were capitans for ten out of a seventeen-year period. In 1877 Lucas Ege began the reconstruction of the stone church. This church was damaged by an earthquake in 1897 and largely destroyed by an earthquake in 1925.

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In 1879 Telesforo Tayko was elected capitan; his political career culminated in his election as a congressman to the national government in Manila during the American period.[85] This is the first mention of the Tayko family which has been active until this day in community affairs, often dominating the political life of the locality.

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In 1887, when Telesforo Tayko was re-elected capitan, a Spanish commissioner, Manuel Bugarin, arrived in Siaton. This year is called pongkol (cut) by Cadiane because of the graft of Bugarin in collecting the taxes.

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[84] With the end of Lucas Ege's term as capitan, he was followed by Antonio Gabriel, nicknamed "Kibotkibot" (probably the same person as Gabriel Kibotkibot, 1861-62); Francisco Ege, who served two consecutive terms (1863-66); Angel Cajonera, nicknamed "Andres" (1867-68); Damasao Ragudo (1869-70); Mariano Galabay, nicknamed "Baho" (1871-72); Francisco Ege, his third term (1873-74); Rosindo Kinamot, nicknamed "Balangka," re-elected (1875-76); and Lucas Ege, second term (1877-78).

[85] After Tayko's election as capitan in 1879 he was followed in office by Andres Ege (1881-82); Damasao Ragudo (1883-84); Angel Cajonera (1885-86); and Telesforo Tayko was re-elected in 1887. In 1889-90 Lucas Ege became capitan for the third time.

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The main purpose of Bugarin's assignment to Siaton was to collect taxes that had not been paid since 1884, the year the cédula personal was established. Cadiane writes:

> When the cabezas turned over the taxes collected, if they could not give (each of them) more than five pesos a day the amount which they turned in under five pesos was not recorded as taxes but went to the pockets of Bugarin who said: "This amount will 'go to the sea'" which meant he would keep the money and it was lost. He also received money without issuing receipts.

If the cabezas of Siaton did not turn in taxes required by their padron, they were imprisoned and their property confiscated. Plehn states: "This drastic measure was often enforced with utmost severity."[86]

Cadiane gives a vivid picture of what happened to some cabezas whose taxes were short.

> There were many cabezas in those days who turned over 50 or 70 pesos and all this money "went to the sea" which was another way of saying it was pocketed by Bugarin. The cabezas, and those who were not cabezas, were very much worried in those days because at the time even their own money 'fell into the sea.' They waited for punishment if they were unable to collect the taxes required.

There seems to have been an esprit de corps among the cabezas, the more affluent Filipinos and the capitans at this time. A meeting was held during Bugarin's time to assist the imprisoned cabezas. Many men, including Lucas Ege, gave animals to raise funds to cover the unpaid taxes of these cabezas. Damaseo Magudo (re-elected capitan in 1890) and Angel Gajonera gave more carabaos than anyone

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[86] Plehn, op. cit., p. 688.

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...se because they had been capitans during the period taxes were not collected.

The carabaos, cattle, and horses collected by this group were driven to Dumaguete to be sold. Bugarin said he would manage their sale.

> It is really very pitiful because the result was that not even one-half of one centavo was recorded in the book of tax collections. This is a very long story and it makes one very angry and sorrowful to remember the many hardships which occurred during the visit of Bugarin.

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The cabezas who were unable to pay the required taxes were jailed in the tribunal, now called the municipio, where the local officials had their offices. "At eight in the morning the cabezas were dried under the heat of the sun like a line of fish for their elbows were tied together almost until noon."[87] They were required to pull the grass and weeds in the poblacion roads. Their carabaos, cattle, horses and fields were confiscated to pay delinquent taxes. Gadiane reminisces: "It is really a very pitiful remembrance of the race. It is really very painful to recall."

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Many of the Filipinos of Siaton remember the Spaniards who lived in their midst, including the priests, as cruel and arrogant persons. When a Filipino met a Spaniard he had to remove his hat, hold it behind his head, and bow or make a sign of respect. If this were not done, the

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87. "Prisoners in charge of the Guardia Civil were always tied elbow to elbow." Worcester, op. cit., p. 309.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangueto, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 128) is missing]

palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was $54 of which $12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of $42. The money from guhang sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from $10 to $25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhang his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhang from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhang and asked $100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

municipal treasurer a monthly report (in triplicate) of the kind, quantity, and value, if so, if the fish caught during the month."[40] 228

Passing an ordinance does not mean it will be obeyed or enforced. In Siaton it is common knowledge that most of the bonsod owners keep two sets of books, one for personal use and the other for inspection by municipal officials. Bonsod owners or operators are 228 651 662

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[40]Section 14 of this ordinance lists types of nets or traps and fees to be paid to the municipality for their annual use.

Type of Net or Trap (A)	Municipal License (Dollars)
Payagkay (Pamalo)	5
Pokot (Sagiwsiw)	4
Pokot (Licus)	10
Sabay (Licus)	10
Sabay (Sondong)	2
Sabay (Ta-en)	4
Sodsod	2
Basnig (Tambam)	10
Basnig (Ligbao)	4
Sabay (Ligbao)	4
Pokot (Lamba)	6
Surambao Filipino	185
Basnig, Japanese system	375
Tapsay	2
Chinchoro	30
Patulay (Malangsi)	30
Balahan	75
(Fishing) With high power light ranging from	
100- 500 c. p.	20
501-1000 c. p.	60
1001-5000 c. p.	80
Bobo (each owner)	3
Nets (Length)	
10 to 25 fathoms	10
26 to 50 fathoms	20
51 to 100 fathoms	40
More than 101 fathoms	60

(A) Local names are given in parenthesis.

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required to pay a 5 per cent tax on their total sales to the municipality where they are located. Accounts shown to the inspectors indicate much smaller sales than are the case. Municipal inspectors sent to measure the depth of water where the bonsod is built or the length of the fish nets for tax purposes often are clerks paid less than ten dollars a month. These clerks sometimes report falsified figures. For example, they may state that a bonsod is built in shallower water than it is or that the nets are shorter than they are in order to reduce the required fees. In payment the clerks are given fish for their families by the owners thus favored.

Many requirements of the municipal ordinance, such as monthly reports, are not fulfilled by the fishermen, and no serious attempt is made at enforcement. Municipal revenue from marine fishing is much smaller than it should be. How much is lost is difficult to estimate but I feel it may be as much as 50 per cent of the potential income. The attitude toward taxes, and to government, in general, in Siaton is similar to that described by Robert Redfield in Tepoztlan. The people of Siaton, for the most part, resent taxes since they receive few benefits from the government. The frequent cases, both alleged and proven, of corruption and waste in national or provincial governments, intensify this attitude. Due to such conditions, the municipality often is deprived of revenues necessary

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to initiate improvements; the lack of these improvements is often given as a justification for defrauding the government.[41]

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An average bonsod requires considerable capital; consequently many of them are financed through partnerships. The bonsod can be very profitable but it is also a gamble against an errant typhoon, and a gamble that the capital invested will be recovered before the southwest monsoon's arrival. It is also a gamble that large catches will be made on holidays (such as fiestas) when fish bring higher prices.

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Table XXXII[1] shows the cost of three bonsods built by different persons in Siaton in 1951. The costs indicated vary; large bamboos of last year's bonsod, destroyed by the monsoon, may be washed ashore and reused. Some builders use iron anchors (sinipits); others make them locally from wood. If one uses a twine instead of an abaca net the initial investment is larger. For the two bonsods in Table XXXII[1] the cost of a twine and abaca net and a banca are included; these items do not have to be purchased each year. A banca was said to last three or four years, the iron anchors four to five years, and the abaca net seven or eight years. If one

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[41] Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village: A Study of Folk Life. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930, p. 67.

1 [See p. 583, Cat. 228 or 435 -- Analyst]